COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" I *deny* the assertion of the Right Hon. Gent. (Mr. Burke), that the French might have received a " good constitution from their *Monarch*. I entertain a most eager and sanguine hope, that the des- " potism" [that is, the monarchy] " of France *will never be restored*. I am convinced it is for the " interest of Great-Britain that it should be destroyed; for the greater part of the expense of the " blood and treasure of this country is to be ascribed to the unprincipled ambition of that " government. If France alter her constitution, she may become more powerful in her per- " manent resources, but she certainly will be a *juster*, *worthier*, and *more peaceable neighbour*, and " more likely to act *towards us* as *we now do towards her*."——MR. SHERIDAN'S SPEECH, FEBRUARY 9th, 1790.

LETTER VI.

TO R. B. SHERIDAN, ESQ. M. P.

SIR,—We parted * at the close of my answer to that part of your challenge, which related to *forfeited pledges*, on which topic, if I had had room, I might have added a remark or two on your conduct relative to Irish Catholics, towards whom you stood pretty firmly pledged, and whose cause you have given evident signs of having abandoned. On the 10th of August, when there was popularity to be gained by moving a vote of thanks to the gallant shopkeepers of the kingdom, you were punctual in attendance; but, the next day, when information was to be called for respecting the rebellion in Ireland, you were absent, though very ample notice of the discussion had been given. Formerly you were the first to move for inquiries of this sort, and that, too, at a time which you have recently declared to have been more dangerous than the present time: what, then, should make you stand aloof now? Leaving this question for you to answer at your leisure, I now beg leave to call your attention to the two latter points of your challenge: " I defy the Right Honourable " Gentleman to point out *a single political* " *sentiment that I have ever renounced*, or a " single *political attachment that I have ever* " *deserted*." Of political sentiments, Sir, I could mention a thousand, which you have renounced, either in words or in actions, though, I do not say, that you have always been conscious of so doing; for, so ready have you been to broach sentiments, so bold have you been in advancing them, and so long have you passed with impunity through an endless maze of inconsistencies, that, it is by no means wonderful if you do not take the trouble to recollect, during one debate, any thing that you have said in a former one. Having stated my intention to confine myself, in this part of my subject, to the occurrences of the very last session of Parliament, I will barely refer to only one instance or two of an anterior date, and these merely on account of their connexion with your more recent sentiments and conduct. Pray, then, Sir, take the following passage from your " fine speech," as it was called, and reconcile it with what I have chosen for the motto of this paper: " Look " at the map of Europe; there, where a " great man" [Mr. Burke], " who, how- " ever, was *always wrong* on this subject, " said he looked for France and found no- " thing but a chasm. Look at that map " now, and see nothing but France. It is " in our power to measure her territory, " but it is scarcely in the measure of any " man's mind to measure the ambition of " Buonaparté; and, if it be true, that his " ambition is of that immeasurable nature, " there are abundant and obvious reasons " why it must be progressive, reasons *much* " *stronger* than any that could have been " used under *the power of the Bourbons*. " They were ambitious, but it was *not so* " *necessary for them* to feed their subjects " with the *spoils and plunder of war*; they " had the attachment of a *long established* " *family* applied to them; *they* had the ef- " fect and advantage of *hereditary succession*. " If there be, as I think there is, a physical " necessity for Buonaparté to pursue his " projects of unprincipled ambition and in- " justice, must not his *most anxious looks be* " *directed towards Great-Britain*." * —— Now, Sir, is not this the renouncing of a political sentiment? In 1790 you most anxiously hoped, that the old government of France would never be restored, because to its ambition was owing a vast expense of English blood and treasure, and because, though, by a change, France might become more strong, it would make her more just,

* Vide p. 432.

* See Parl. Debates, Vol. II. p. 1746.

worthy, and, above all, a more *peaceable* neighbour! In 1802, you discovered not only that the change in the government of France had *not* made her a more peaceable neighbour, but that it had made her a much more restless and dangerous neighbour. This was natural enough, the fact stared you in the face; but, you stated, at the same time, that this restlessness arose out of the very source, from which in 1790, you professed to expect consequences precisely opposite; that is to say, from the destruction of the ancient government, for which destruction you so "anxiously and sanguinely hoped." Will you say, that the change, which has taken place in France, has, at last, been *different* from the one that you expected; that, instead of a free constitution, such as you hoped to see, a despotism even worse and more dangerous than that of the Bourbons, has arisen out of the revolution? If this be your excuse, one may ask you: on what do you, then, found your pretensions to sagacity and foresight? And, where do you find matter to justify that confidence, with which, even at this day, you accuse Mr. Burke of having been "*always in the wrong*" with respect to the result of the French rebellion, that result which he described almost as accurately as if he first had been an eye witness of it? But, though I allow you to have been totally deceived as to the nature of the government, which the rebellion would finally produce in France, I cannot so far concede as to admit that a mild and equitable rule was the only one which you had in view; for, when did you condemn the government of the republic? At what time, from the first moment of the rebellion to the last, did you reprobate the rulers of the day? Which of the tyrants, or gangs of tyrants, have you not justified, or excused? And, have you not, even since the erection of the Consulate, even since the accession of Buonaparté, have you not extolled the government, have you not panegyrised its Chief? Have you not abused the late ministry for refusing to treat with Buonaparté, that Buonaparté whose *interest* you asserted it to be to make a peace that should give us "*lasting tranquillity* and *safety*," * that very Buonaparté not only in whose disposition but "in whose *situation* and in the *composition of whose power*" you now "see a "*physical necessity* for him to go on in this "barter with his subjects, and to promise "to make them the masters of the world "if they will consent to be his slaves," * and whom, of course, you must regard as a person, with whom we can never have peace, and, therefore, never ought to have made peace, or to have negotiated? Buonaparté's office was the same last December as it was in June 1800. He was First Consul in 1800, and he was no more in 1802; he is no more now; and, it will, I believe, be confessed, that, if any change has taken place, it has rather tended to soften his tyranny than otherwise: at any rate, no one will deny, that we are now further removed from his massacres and his poisonings than we were in 1800, and that his power is more consolidated and stands less in need of external warfare to support it, than it did at the last mentioned epoch. What, then, let me beg of you to say, Sir, what has happened to induce you *now* to assert, that there is in his "*situation* and "in the *composition of his power* a *physical* "*necessity*" for his continuing to be hostile to Great-Britain?——One more instance I will just mention, and only just mention it, because the subject is, in truth, one which I by no means wish to revive. Upon the trial of O'Connor, in answer to the question, whether he concerned himself most about English or Irish affairs, you are stated to have sworn as follows: "respecting "the affairs of Ireland, much more, cer- "tainly, than those of England. I have "met him in circles where he introduced "more the politics of England, about "which he seemed not to concern him- "self; and I have said, in his presence, "and in the presence of other gentlemen "that live in our society, that Mr. O'Con- "nor seemed to be occupied with what he "conceived to be *the oppressions and injuries* "*inflicted upon Ireland*; in which, I beg to "add, *I agreed with him.*"——You did, you did? And, do you agree with him *now?* Certainly you cannot, when you would not allow a lapse of twenty-four hours, to inquire into the *reasons* for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and for laying that country under all the severities of martial law, without having officially before you any one article of information as to the cause of so serious, and, indeed, so terrible a proceeding. I, Sir, never agreed with Arthur O'Connor. I always thought him to be, what he was, at last, legally proved to be, a black-hearted traitor; but, I would not, without having previously received good information as to

* Speech, June, 1800, just after the

* Speech, December 8, 1802, Register, Vol. II, p. 1746.

the cause, have given my consent to lay four millions of my fellow subjects under martial law.——Now, Sir, either you have, in these instances, renounced, totally "*renounced*, your political sentiments," or you must, in one or the other case, have been under the guidance of any thing but sincerity.——But the act of renunciation, to which I particularly intended to refer, was that which you performed (for it was quite in the theatrical way) respecting the *Council of War*, a measure, for which you spoke and voted on the 2d of August, and which, in only eight days afterwards, you represented as unnecessary, if not mischievous. ——The motion, on the 2d of August, was made by Mr. Fox. You supported it; you maintained the necessity of establishing such a council, and concluded by voting for it amongst the 40 who divided against the minister's 63. When, therefore, on the 10th of August, you called upon the House to imitate you in giving the ministers an undivided support, Mr. Francis observed, that you had, doubtless, received satisfactory assurances, that those ministers meant to establish a Council of War; to which you replied: "with respect to this measure, I "confess, that, though I strongly advised "its adoption, I have, since then, in consequence of information received from "*the very highest authority*, had my opinion "very materially shaken, if not totally "changed; for, from this authority, I have "heard *such arguments* as completely satisfied my mind, that the establishment of "the Council in question, would produce "no advantage, but, on the contrary, most "serious injury; and I, therefore, *renounce* "*the sentiments* I then entertained on the "subject."——Here, then, I might stop; for, you yourself have answered the defiance, which you had the indiscretion to throw in the teeth of the public; unless, indeed, you should have recourse to the miserable subterfuge, that a sentiment respecting a Council of War is not a *political* sentiment.——The truth is, that to renounce a political or any other sentiment, founded on error, which error is acknowledged by the party renouncing, has in it nothing that argues either a want of integrity or a want of wisdom; but, when the error is not acknowledged, when the party endeavours to sink, or to deny his former sentiments, and is putting in a claim to confidence upon the score of his opinions having been unchangeable, then the renunciation, if of a political sentiment, becomes a political crime, and of this crime you stand clearly convicted with respect to the natural tendency of the French revolution, with respect to the notions of O'Connor, and also with respect to the character, the views, the nature of the power, and the practicability of making and preserving peace with Buonaparté; in all which cases you have renounced your sentiments, without acknowledging your errors; and, with regard to the last mentioned subject, you are actually now in the habit of reviving your abuse against Lord Grenville for refusing to treat for peace with Buonaparté, even since you have declared, that there is "in the *situation* and the *com-* "*position of the power*" of that very Buonaparté, a "*physical necessity*" for his continuing in war!——If the error be acknowledged, there is still to be expected, from the party so acknowledging, the *reasons*, on which his conviction is founded; for, a mere declaration of, "*I was wrong the* "*other evening*," is by no means sufficient to account for a change of sentiment, upon any point of importance, and especially if the sentiment has, in the first instance, been maintained to the end of a discussion, and has, at last, received the confirmation of a vote. Applying this principal to your conduct, relative to the Council of War, you will, I imagine, find it very difficult indeed, to remove the charge, which I prefer by way of answer to your defiance: "from the very *highest authority*," say you, "I have *heard such arguments*, as have in- "duced me to renounce my sentiments." ——The highest authority was the minister, or, perhaps, the Commander in Chief, the persons who, of course, were opposed to the measure in question; the very persons, whose opinions and whose influence you had *opposed*, when you spoke and voted for the Council of War. But, you had "heard "*such arguments*" from this authority? Were they different, and were they more weighty, than those, which you, in common with the gentlemen that voted with you, had before heard from the ministerial side of the House? If they were, you should have communicated them to your hearers, in order to produce conviction in them also; for, do you think, Sir, that any one, of capacity above that of a mere shopkeeper, will be satisfied with the declaration, that you had *heard convincing arguments from the highest authority?* If this be a sufficient justification for a change of sentiment; if, by the help of an excuse like this, a member of Parliament, without any imputation of inconstancy, can, on the 10th of the month, openly reprobate a measure, in favour of which he spoke and voted on the 2d, then, Sir, I may be ready

to allow that you are, with respect to political sentiments, a most constant and consistent gentleman.——Such a plea, such a paltry excuse, is not, however, by any means sufficient; and, I shall, therefore, venture to state what I believe to have been the nature of those "arguments," which your modesty, or something else, prevented you from disclosing. To be plain, then, Sir, I have heard, that, between the 2d and the 10th of August, a negotiation was opened with you, respecting an appointment, in the *army*, for a near relation of yours. Whether the first overture came from you, or from the other party, and whether the other party advanced through the channel of the Treasury or the Adjutant-General's Office, are points upon which I am uninformed; but, that such a negotiation was on foot, and that it was in considerable forwardness before the tenth of August I have heard, and I know the fact to be generally believed by *all* those, to whom I have spoken on the subject, and by whom it is believed, that your terms were *higher* than the Commander in Chief would finally consent to, and, perhaps, than the officers of the army would have borne. ——I do not pledge myself for the truth of this fact: and, I think it likely, that, in some parts, it may be incorrect; but, what I have stated I have heard, and I believe the statement to be substantially true, which belief, you must allow, is powerfully supported by your collateral conduct, for which, without the aid of some extraneous reason, it is absolutely impossible to account. Between the 2d and 10th of August, nothing had taken place, in the military affairs of the country, that could have had the smallest influence on your opinion; the opinions of the persons, who voted with you for the Council of War continued the same; and, if it can be said, that those other persons had not enjoyed the benefit of hearing the "arguments" which you had heard, the next question is, how *you* came to be chosen as the sole depository of those precious arguments? Was it, that all those who voted with you for the Council of War were unworthy of such a mark of confidence? or were they regarded as being composed of less susceptible materials? That "very *highest authority*," from which you had received your conviction, must, as I before observed, have been the minister, or the commander in chief; and, how came either of these to fix upon *you*? Out of all the advocates for a Council of War, how came they to fix upon you, as the only person, in whose mind to produce conviction of the inutility and injuriousness of the measure? Was it because you were less pertinacious than the rest; or, because you were the only one of them that had a relation, who, without ever having seen an hour's service, he wished to make *a colonel of a regiment*?—Submitting these questions to your consideration, and hoping to see, in due time, an answer to them, in some of the numerous news-papers, whose proprietors, editors, reporters, compositors, press-men, runners, and devils, are entertained, gratis, at your theatre, I now proceed to make a very brief reply to the third and last head of your challenge: "I defy the right honourable "gentleman to point out one single *political* "*attachment* that I have ever *deserted*." It would, Sir, be by no means difficult to cite *many* instances of this sort of desertion, of which you have been guilty; and, when one reflects on your conduct, on almost all trying occasions, towards those persons, for whom you are constantly expressing the warmest private and political friendship, it is impossible to refrain from astonishment at their continuing to be made use of as the mere instruments for gratifying your vanity. During the last session of parliament, you deserted Messrs. Fox and Grey, on every occasion, in which your assistance was wanted by them. You did not oppose them *to their faces*; but, there was not one instance, in which you did not first suffer their arguments to pass in silence, and, afterwards, in their *absence*, take an opportunity of adverting to, and of combating those arguments. The act of *desertion*, however, which I mean particularly to cite, in answer to your defiance, is, that which was exhibited in your conduct towards his royal highness the Prince of Wales, in respect to the refusal of his offer of service. This matter was first spoke of, in parliament, on the same day, and during the same debate that the necessity of a Council of War was discussed. The subjects were, indeed, intimately connected with each other; because, one mode of employing the Prince was, to put him at the head of such a Council; and, you were, Sir, amongst the very foremost in contending that his Royal Highness' offer ought to have been accepted. After the occurrences of the 2d, you had, in the presence of the Prince's friends, expressed your indignation at the conduct of the ministers towards his Royal Highness, and had, I will not say promised, but threatened, at least, that unless justice was immediately done him, you would take vengeance on the ministers. Coming to the

house, on the 4th of August, with this impression on their minds, what must have been the astonishment of the frequenters of Carleton-House, to see you *sitting upon the Treasury-Bench*, and, instead of indignant censure on the ministers for their arrogance and injustice towards the Prince, to hear from your lips an unprovoked and premeditated attack, *in favour of ministers*, against Mr. Windham, who had voted for the Council of War, and whom, most assuredly, no real friend to the Prince of Wales could, at such a time, think it prudent wantonly to assault. From the 4th of August to the 10th, you never opened your lips, except for the purpose of defending and of eulogising the ministers, who had so insulted the Prince, and on whom, on that account, you had threatened to take vengeance. When, therefore, on the 10th, you called upon men of all parties to join you in supporting the ministers, Mr. Francis reminded you of your renunciation of your sentiments, relative to the Council of War, and of your desertion of the Prince of Wales: "When," said he, "I heard "my honourable friend engage himself, and "exhort others, with so much warmth, to "support the present government by all "possible exertions in the country, the in-"ference that immediately occurred to me, "and which gave me very great pleasure "was, that since the last debate on military "subjects, my honourable friend must have "received some satisfaction from his Ma-"jesty's ministers on two points of very "great importance and interest, in *his* "judgment and feeling, as well as mine, on "which, at that time, certainly, all satisfac-"tion was with-held. For otherwise I can-"not think it possible that ministers would "have all the cordial support and approba-"tion, which he has given them this night, "and promised them hereafter. The first of "the objects I allude to is the appointment "of a Military Council, in favour of which "he divided and spoke with great force. "Undoubtedly he would not have done so, "if he had not thought it what I do, a measure "of considerable importance to the country. "The other related to a subject of *attach-"ment to the illustrious person concerned* as "well as of judgment and opinion for the "public service."——To the latter part of this charge, you replied: "I am not to be "told, that unless the offer made by his "Royal Highness shall be treated in a man-"ner satisfactory *to my honourable friend*, I "shall decline to support his Majesty's go-"vernment on this *trying occasion*."——As to the "trying occasion," I have before proved, that, according to your own sentiments, repeatedly expressed, it must have been a mere subterfuge; because, in the month of June 1798, a time, which you yourself did, during the very debate to which I am now alluding, declare to be *fuller of danger* than the present time, oppose the ministers with all your might, and agitate questions of the most fearful import; and because, in the month of February, 1801, when the war with the Northern Powers had just been added to the other dangers of the country, when his Majesty's indisposition had plunged the nation into a gloom it never before experienced, you represented these present ministers, as every thing that was low, ignorant, and unworthy of trust; and, when Mr. Pitt reminded you of the *danger of the times*, you indignantly replied, that the "effect of such doctrine would be to "*annihilate the first duties of Parliament*;" yet, this very doctrine you acted upon, on the 10th of August last, in order to shelter the ministers, whom you had before designated by the name of "a mask," a "skele-"ton, an empty skull," and a "sitting "part," from the vengeance, which they merited, and which you, a few days before, had threatened to inflict on them, for their ill treatment of the Royal person, to whom you were bound by the sacred ties of gratitude and honour, and to whom you were incessantly professing an unalterable attachment.——The pretext of the dangers of the country was, then, worth nothing at all. Besides, you argued upon a shameful fallacy: "Am I to be told, that, unless the offer "made by his Royal Highness shall be "treated in a manner satisfactory to my *ho-"nourable friend*, &c. &c." No: you were told no such thing: you were told, or rather it was hinted to you, that you should resent the conduct of ministers, not because they had treated the Prince in a manner unsatisfactory *to Mr. Francis*, but unsatisfactory *to the Prince himself*, a circumstance of which you were duly and fully acquainted, and in consequence of which you had, as I have before stated, threatened to inflict vengeance upon the ministers on that very evening when the Prince's friends, to their utter astonishment and confusion, found you perched upon the Treasury Bench, whence you were attacking the most formidable opponent of the persons whom you yourself were to assail! You did, indeed, say, with respect to the Prince's offer: "I am fully per-"suaded the offer was *graciously* received "by the *persons*, to whom it was made." To say nothing about the *gracious* reception which the Reading Doctor and brothers Hiley and Bragge, to say nothing about the

gracious reception, which a political "*skele-* "*ton*," an "*empty skull*," the "*sitting-part* "of Mr. Pitt," might condescend to give to an offer of the Heir Apparent, I will venture to assert, Sir, that *you knew*, that the offer was treated by the ministers in the most paltry and shuffling manner that can possibly be conceived.——In short, your desertion of the Prince was so obvious, it was so glaring, and so shocking, that even your very friends of the newspaper offices, who heard you from the gallery, could not refrain from crying shame. You were taken by surprise; you knew not what to say, and your answer to the reproaches made on the part of the Prince resembled that of the jesting and sack drinking Knight: "What, upon "compulsion, HAL? No; were I at the "strappado, or all the racks in the world, I "would not tell you on compulsion. Give "you a *reason on compulsion!* If reasons "were as plenty as blackberries, I would "give no man a reason upon compulsion, "I!" The time may come, Sir, when, notwithstanding what your newspapers inform us of your being at dinners and balls at Brighton, his Royal Highness will repay you, in the language, which the poet puts in the mouth of his glorious predecessor:—

"I know thee not, old man: fall to thy prayers.
"How ill white hairs become a trifling jester.
"I have long dream'd of such a kind of man,
"But, being awake, I do d spise my dream."

—The times are approaching, Sir, when *jesting* will stand men in little stead; when the cant of philanthropy and the favour of the rabble will be nothing worth. Princes must live and kings must reign, as they *ought* to live and to reign: they *must*, whether they will or not, maintain their state and exercise their just prerogatives. You think, Sir, that you have laid your plans well: you have one eye on the Prince and the other on his Royal Father: you are prepared for the defeat of any and of every party: while the *great men* are, by you and such as you, kept aloof from each other, you are preparing to come in for a considerable share with the others of that *secondary class*, to which you belong, and the effects of whose successful intrigues the nation now so sensibly feels. "As to *leaders* "in Parliament," says Burke, "nothing is "more common than to see them blindly "led. The world is governed by *go-be-* "*tweens*. Those go-betweens influence the "persons, with whom they carry on an in- "tercourse, by stating their own sense to "each of them as the sense of the other, "and thus they reciprocally master both "sides. The leaders are, at first, drawn to "a connivance with sentiments and pro- "ceedings, often totally different from their "serious and deliberate notions. With no "better than such powers, the go betweens "assume a new representative character, "&c. &c."* This, Sir, is the character, which you and Mr. Tierney have assumed; and, in which character you would, if we lived in common times, most assuredly succeed in your views. It is an odd enough turn in the caprice of the people, that they overlook the political sins of the go-betweens, while they never forget those of the leaders; so that, it but too often happens, as at the present moment, that all the worst principles, of all parties, are brought into power, unaccompanied with the talents of any party. The evil, however, has now arrived at its acme: it can go no further: it must either cure itself, or destroy the body politic, on which it preys: high minds and great talents must once more, and that speedily, come to the direction of affairs, or this nation falls never again to rise to liberty and greatness. There are, God knows, but too many fatal symptoms at this time visible; but, to me, none is so alarming, because none do I regard as being so certain a sign of national decline, as the currency which your speeches obtain. "Every honest "speaker," said DEMOSTHENES to the falling Athenians, "should prefer the interests of the "state to the favour of his hearers. This "was the principle that actuated the pub- "lic conduct of those of our ancestors, who "spoke in this assembly. But, since we "have had speakers, who, before their "public appearance, ask you, "*What do you* "*desire? What shall I propose? How can I* "*oblige you?*" The interests of our country "hath been sacrificed to momentary plea- "sure, and popular favour. Thus have you "been distressed, thus have these men risen "to greatness, and you sunk into disgrace." —Thus it was in Athens, Sir, just before that State, once so famous for science, for liberty, and for courage, yielded to the yoke of an invader: and who will deny, that thus it is with Britain now? The very principle of speaking and of ruling here reprobated, as the cause of the decline and fall of the Athenians, was but too frequently pursued by Mr. Pitt; but it has been *systematically*, and *openly*, and *avowedly*, acted upon by the present Ministers, who, both in speeches and in pamphlets, have justified their tardiness in preparing for the defence of the country, upon the ground that the *people were not ripe* for the necessary measures, a justification acquiesced in, if not suggested,

* Appeal from the New Whigs to the Old.

by you. The consequence of which principle of action is, that the Ministers have *kept their places* and the *country is on the verge of destruction.*—From this digression I should now return to the remaining points of my subject, but the terrible crisis which is at hand, seems imperiously to call for some portion, at least, of every sheet that one sends from the press.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.
Duke street, Oct. 1, 1803. WM. COBBETT.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PROCLAMATION *of the* PRESIDENT *of the* UNITED STATES *for* CONVENING *the* AMERICAN CONGRESS. *Dated July* 16*th* 1803.

By the President of the United States of America. A Proclamation.——Whereas great and weighty matters, claiming the consideration of the Congress of the United States, form an extraordinary occasion for convening them: I do by these presents appoint Monday the 17th day of October next for their meeting at the City of Washington, hereby requiring their respective senators and representatives, then and there to assemble in congress, in order to receive such communications as may then be made to them, and to consult and determine on such measures, as, in their wisdom may be deemed meet for the welfare of the United States. ——In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and signed the same with my hand.——Done at the City of Washington, the sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and three; and in the twenty-eighth year of the independence of the United States.

(Signed) TH. JEFFERSON.
JAMES MADISON.
By the President.

PROCLAMATION *of* ADMIRAL BRUIX *to the* OFFICERS AND MEN *of the* NATIONAL FLOTILLA.——*Dated Head-quarters at Boulogne, July* 30.

E. Bruix, Counsellor of State, and Admiral to the National Flotilla destined to carry war to England:——The First Consul, when he signified to me your destination, honoured me with the title of your Admiral. He sends me to you to conduct your exertion in the career of glory, which his genius has prepared for you. What man, at this distinguished proof of the confidence of a hero, would not be raised above himself? Who could doubt of his own powers? Brave seamen! the choice of Buonaparté renders me worthy to march at your head. Your zeal and your bravery are pledges to me that we shall fulfil his expectations. Already you hear the cry of vengeance. Our towns and districts bring in their gifts in multitudes. All Frenchmen are ready to march to punish a government which is an enemy of the peace of the world, and especially an enemy of the glory and welfare of our country. You are first called to this great enterprize. To you your country first commits the care of satisfying her just vengeance. Be certain that you will fulfil your noble destination. Recollect that the victory begins in your docks; and in your marine and military exercises.—Let those ships which insolently cruize along our shores, at sight of your labours, return and say to their government, "A fearful day is preparing. The winds and sea, again favourable to the Conqueror of Egypt, may in a few hours bring him to our coasts, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory." To hasten this result, it is my first duty to establish a severe discipline in the National Flotilla. Subordination will regulate your efforts: that alone can add to the activity of your labours: sailors, we are on the field of battle: to lose a moment would be criminal cowardice. Redouble, therefore, your zeal, multiply your services, and the nation which oppresses the seas will be conquered by terror, before it experiences the fate of arms, and sinks beneath the blows of your nerves.

(Signed) "BRUIX."

Regulations to be observed on board the National Flotilla.

I. Every armed vessel forming part of the National Flotilla, shall have her crew complete, in conformity to the order of the 18th of last Messidor (July 7)——II. The Commanders and Officers, both by sea and land, embarked on board these vessels, the crews and the troops of debarkation must regularly eat and sleep on board.—— III. The regulations for manœuvring for approaching the coast and landing, must be observed with the greatest strictness, shall be written fully out, and placed in sight of the crew in the most conspicuous part of the vessel ——IV. Before the ships sail, a board shall be fixed up, the contents of which shall be read aloud before its being placed in the ship, on which shall be inscribed the names of the individuals to be employed in succession in stated works, in giving assistance to such vessels as may require it, or for the purpose of extinguishing any flame which may break out in the port or road. A commissioned officer, or in his room, a midshipman, or master shall be at all times ready to conduct this detachment, and of course his name will be inscribed in the board alluded to.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LETTER *written by the Clerks of the General Meetings in the Counties, to the Clerks of the Subdivision Meetings, in consequence of* INSTRUCTIONS *given by* MR. YORKE, *to the* LORDS LIEUTENANT, *for* SUSPENDING THE BALLOTS *for the* MILITIA *and* ARMY *of* RESERVE, *so far as it concerns* THOSE *who are* INROLLED *in* VOLUNTEER CORPS.

SIR,—By command of the Lord Lieutenant, I have to desire you will state to the Deputy Lieutenants, who shall from time to time attend the subdivision meetings in the division of the county that whenever the ballot shall fall on a person claiming exemption as having been inrolled and actually serving in a Volunteer Corps or Company, all proceedings as to the inrolling such person, or compelling him to find a substitute, are to be suspended, until further instructions be received from his Lordship.———I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER *from the Right Hon.* CHARLES YORKE *to the* LORDS LIEUTENANT *of Counties, respecting the* YEOMANRY *and* VOLUNTEER CORPS. *Dated Whitehall, Sept.* 21, 1803.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that his Majesty has been pleased to direct the appointment of Inspecting Field Officers to the Yeomanry and Volunteers throughout Great Britain. The general distribution and duties of these officers are specified in the inclosed copy of a letter from the

Adjutant-General, dated the 15th instant,* herewith sent for your information. Field Officers are assigned to the military districts, in which the county of is comprehended. Their names and stations are mentioned in the margin; and I flatter myself that you will think it expedient to contribute, by all the means in your power, to give every support and facility to those gentlemen in the execution of their important duties. ——I am now to communicate to you his Majesty's commands, that, for the future, all applications relating to the rules and details of the service, and to military supplies of every kind, except for arms and accoutrements, are to be made by the Commandants of the different Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps and Companies to the commanding General of the district, through their respective Inspectors; and I take leave to request, that you will have the goodness to apprise the several Commandants of the Yeomanry and Volunteers in the county of of his Majesty's orders. It may be at the same time proper to acquaint them, that the regulations established for the musters and returns of the several Corps and Companies, are to be strictly and punctually complied with in every respect.——Forms of the different returns will be circulated to all the Corps, through their respective Inspectors. It is, however, to be observed, that all periodical muster-rolls and monthly returns, required by Act of Parliament, will continue to be sent in as heretofore.——I take this opportunity of transmitting for your information a copy of an opinion lately given by the Attorney and Solicitor-General,† upon the subject of the exemptions from ballot claimed by the members of Volunteer Corps and Companies which have been accepted by his Majesty. You will observe, that no person whatever can be entitled to claim any exemption, unless his name has been regularly returned upon a muster roll, duly sent in to the Lord Lieutenant, or Clerk of the General Meeting of his County, at the *times*, in the *manner*, and certified by his Commandant *upon honour*, in the *form* prescribed by Statutes 42 Geo. III. c. 66. and 43 Geo. III. c. 121. and in the Schedules annexed thereto.—— I take leave to observe to you, that in all cases where the exemptions are claimed, it will be necessary that the different Subdivision Meetings of Lieutenancy, before whom alone they can be allowed, should be furnished, for their use, with the proper extracts from the muster rolls, certified by the Clerk of the General Meetings, as correctly taken from the originals.—— I have inclosed some printed forms of the muster rolls and returns, under the above-mentioned acts, for the information of you and the Lieutenancy of the County of

. The regulations applied to the subject of exemptions being prescribed by Acts of Parliament, no deviation whatever can be admitted with respect to them.——In order to prevent any mistakes with regard to the pay and allowances intended to be given to the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps, whose services have been accepted by his Majesty subsequent to the date of Lord Hobart's circular letter of the 3d of August last,‡ I take this opportunity of acquainting you, that no greater expense can be incurred for any troop of cavalry established since that period, than one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, to be issued half yearly; out of which all expenses whatever, except for arms, must be defrayed, when the corps is not called out into actual service. With regard to the infantry, when in the same situation, no higher allowance can be claimed or granted than twenty shillings under the head of clothing for each effective non-commissioned officer, drummer, and private on the establishment, to be renewed at the end of every three years, and twenty shillings training and exercising money for each effective non-commissioned officer, drummer, and private present at training and exercise. These allowances are to be drawn for under such rules and regulations, and vouched in such manner and form as his Majesty's Secretary at War shall judge necessary to prescribe for the guidance of the Commandants of the several Volunteer Corps in this respect.——When Volunteer Companies are formed in any parish or district of united parishes, the pay of the drill serjeant not exceeding two shillings and six-pence for every day he may be employed upon that duty, is to be defrayed by such parish or united parishes in the manner prescribed by the Statute 43 Geo. III. c. 120. sect. 10.——No pay will be allowed for an adjutant and serjeant-major who may be placed upon the establishment of any corps formed subsequent to the period above adverted to, except under very special circumstances, and in consequence of particular application from the Lord Lieutenant of the County, to be founded upon the necessity of the case. I beg leave under this head to refer you to the inclosed regulations circulated by the War Office, § which cannot be departed from in any instance during the time that a corps is not called out upon actual service. ——I think it necessary to take notice in this place, to prevent mistakes, that all corps of Yeomanry and Volunteers, accepted and established previous to the 3d of August last, are considered to be under the regulations promulgated in the month of June last, and may continue to receive the allowances mentioned therein, if by the terms of service they are entitled to claim them.—— I am persuaded that you will agree with me that it is expedient that it should be distinctly understood by all Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps of every description, in the county of that all the rules established among themselves for the preservation of good order, and for the enforcing of regular attendance at muster and exercise, as well as the regulations established by his Majesty's orders, or other competent authority, are to be strictly conformed to by all the members in their respective situations.——It is the more necessary to call the serious attention of the Volunteers and Yeomanry to this point, because the compulsory clauses of the Defence Acts do not apply to them, except when ordered to be drawn out and assembled for actual service, on any invasion, or appearance of an enemy in force upon the coast, or to suppress any rebellion or insurrection arising or existing during any such invasion, at which time they are by law made liable to military discipline, and to the provisions of the Mutiny Act.——In the mean time, it is obvious that a regular attendance at muster and exercise, and a due obedience to rules and regulations, issued by competent authority, are indispensible. I have, therefore, to request that you

* See page 499.
† See page 498.
‡ See page 206.

§ See page 500.

will announce to all the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps within the county of that all persons enrolled in them who refuse to conform to the rules and regulations above adverted to, or who neglect to attend at the times and places of muster or exercise appointed by proper authority, are no longer to be considered as members upon the establishment of such corps, or entitled to claim any of the advantages or exemptions allowed by the legislature or otherwise.——You no doubt must have been aware of the difficulties which have unavoidably arisen in providing a complete supply of arms and accoutrements for so considerable and rapid an increase of the military force of the country; every exertion has, however, been and will continue to be made by the Board of Ordnance, to meet this sudden and extraordinary demand upon the arsenals. Directions have been given for issuing immediately a very considerable proportion of muskets, and they are now in a course of delivery, with all practicable dispatch; as many sabres and pistols as may be wanted for the cavalry, and pikes to any extent, which you may think necessary for the service, may be obtained upon communicating with the Ordnance, to which department you will please to direct all your applications in future for arms and accoutrements.——I flatter myself, that it will not be long before I receive information from you that the Volunteer establishment for the county of is completed, and that at the same time I shall be favoured with the returns called for by my circular letter of the 31st August, without which it will be impracticable to carry into effect the final arrangement of so great an augmentation of the public force.——You will easily perceive, that until these returns are made, it will not be possible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy, whether the different offers of service which have been sent in, are likely to prove effectual in point of numbers, or to calculate, with any precision, the extent of the demands likely to be made upon the public revenue.——In concluding this letter, I have great satisfaction in executing his Majesty's commands, by expressing the cordial sense he entertains of the zeal and loyalty which have been so conspicuously manifested on this occasion, by his faithful county of which in common with the rest of his kingdom, has displayed at this most critical juncture, a degree of spirit and animation, of energy and fortitude, which has rarely been equalled at any period of our history, and never surpassed.——Whatever difficulties may have attended the execution of these important measures of preparation and defence, it is a great satisfaction to reflect that they have arisen in great measure from a zeal and alacrity on the part of the people, which have exceeded even the hopes and expectations of the Government. They have proceeded from the spontaneous and unanimous feelings of a high-spirited nation, determined to maintain its independence against the utmost efforts of an insolent and implacable enemy, and pressing forward instantaneously with one heart and mind to uphold the honour of a beloved Sovereign, and to preserve its ancient and invaluable laws and liberties.——I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c.

C. YORKE.

[*Referred to in Mr. Yorke's Letter.*]

Letter from the Attorney and Solicitor General, to Mr. Yorke, respecting the exemptions claimed by the members of the Volunteer-Corps.—Dated Lincoln's-Inn, September 13th, 1803.

SIR,——We have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 9th instant, desiring our opinion on the following queries, on the subject of exemptions to yeomanry and volunteer corps.——1st. "Whether persons serving in such yeomanry or volunteer corps or companies as have been accepted, on the special condition that they shall be subject to all the provisions of the several acts for the internal defence of the kingdom, (amongst which the 62d section of 43 Geo. 3. c. 96. is referred to in your letter), can be considered as entitled to any of the exemptions from ballot allowed by the statute of 42 Geo. 3. c. 66, and 43 Geo. 3. c. 121?"——2d. "In cases where any such yeomanry or volunteer corps, or any individuals thereof, have offered to serve, disclaiming on their part any of the aforesaid exemptions, and such offers have been accepted by his Majesty, with references to such terms, whether they are at liberty afterwards to claim such exemptions, and whether the Lieutenancy of any county, upon occasion of any ballot, may not reject and disregard such claims, if made?"——We have accordingly taken the same into our consideration, and with respect to the first query, we are of opinion, that 43 Geo. 3. c. 121, so far as it gives exemptions to volunteers from being balloted into the Army of Reserve, which were absolutely denied to them by the clause of the act referred to in your letter, must be considered as repealing that provision, and therefore that volunteers whose services have been accepted upon the terms stated in this query, must be held to be entitled to the exemptions given by the act of 43 Geo. 3. c. 121; and we also think, that under the words of the original act, they are entitled to such exemptions as were in existence in their favour at the time of the passing of it, and which, under 42 Geo. 3. c. 66, extend to the militia ballot, provided they are duly returned according to the provisions and schedules of the respective acts.—As to the case (stated in the second query of your letter) of persons who have offered their services as volunteers, disclaiming any of the exemptions under the several acts upon the subjects of the defence of the country, we do not think that they can be permitted to retract from their engagement and claim any exemption; but in order to obviate the difficulties that may arise before the Deputy Lieutenants, if the return of such corps, or such individuals, were to be made in the form which the above-mentioned Acts of Parliament prescribe, and by virtue of which such exemption might be claimed, we think that the proper step to be taken, is to require the Commanding Officer of Corps whose services have been so accepted, not to make any return according to the directions of those Acts: If he refuses to comply with such requisition, it would be difficult to ascribe it to any other intention than that of receding from the conditions on which their service was accepted, and government would then have to determine upon the propriety of continuing such service.

We have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c.

SP. PERCEVAL,
THO. MANNERS SUTTON.

To the Right Hon. Mr. Yorke.

[*Referred to in Mr. Yorke's Letter.*]

ORDERS *issued from the* WAR-OFFICE *by H. R. H. the* COMMANDER IN CHIEF, *respecting the appointment of* INSPECTING FIELD OFFICERS *for the* VOLUNTEER

and YEOMANRY CORPS.——*Dated Horse Guards, September 15th, 1803.*

It is proposed that the following number of Inspecting Field Officers for the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps shall be immediately appointed and attached to districts:—

North East	2	North West	2
Yorkshire	3	South Inland	1
Eastern	2	North Inland	1
Southern	3	London	1
South West	1	Home	1
Western	2	North Britain	4
Severn	1		

That it shall be the duty of these officers to conform to all orders they may receive from the General Officer commanding the district in which they are stationed, or others their superior officers. That they shall be continually employed in visiting and superintending the drill and field exercise of the several Corps of Yeomanry and Volunteers in their respective districts during those periods of the year which are or may be appointed for that purpose. To the end that the efficacy of this force shall be at all times ascertained, it shall be the duty of these officers to muster within every two months each Corps under their superintendance, when they shall make a specific report on the number under arms (assigning causes for the absence of those who do not appear), on the state of the clothing, horses, arms, and accoutrements, and adding any observations which may occur as necessary for the information of the commanding General. It shall be further their duty to visit at these inspections the places appointed for the depôt of arms and ammunition, and specially to report whether the regulations established for the security and preservation of the same are duly attended to. It shall be, moreover, their particular province to collect the monthly returns of the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps: and transmit the same to the Assistant Adjutant-General of the district; duplicates of these returns they are constantly to transmit to the Lords Lieutenant of the county. They shall be the channels through which all applications from the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps shall be made to the Generals commanding in the districts, and through them to the military departments; and generally that they shall exert their utmost endeavours to promote the discipline, instruction, and welfare of these Corps. —They will be responsible that every exertion is used to render them as effective as possible. In consideration of the active service which will be required of these officers, that they shall be allowed the daily pay of fifteen shillings, and rations of forage for three horses each. And in order to insure them a due respect in the performance of the important duties confided to them, they shall have the temporary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. The Officers appointed to these situations shall be selected from Field-Officers on half-pay, and officers of distinguished reputation and approved services, who may have quitted his Majesty's service after having attained the rank of Field-Officer, shall be eligible to these employments.—— The foregoing proposal has been submitted to the King, by his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, and received his Majesty's approbation.— By command of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief.

HARRY CALVERT, *Adjutant-General.*

[*Referred to in Mr. Yorke's Letter.*]

REGULATIONS *for the formation, &c. of* CORPS *of* YEOMANRY CAVALRY, *raised* SUBSEQUENTLY *to the* DEFENCE ACTS, *with the* ALLOWANCES *granted. Dated War-Office, September* 24, 1803.

A troop to consist of not less than 40, nor more than 100 Rank and File.

	Capt.	*Lieut.*	*Cornet.*
To each Troop	1	1	1
If 70 Rank and File, and upwards	2		

A Squadron to consist of 2 Troops.

A Corps from 3 to 4 Troops, may have

Major. *Captain.*
1 and 1 to each Troop.

A Regiment to consist of from 4 to 12 Troops.

A Regiment of from 5 to 7 Troops, both inclusive, may have

Lieutenant-Colonel. *Major.*
1 and 1

A Regiment of from 8 to 12 Troops, both inclusive, may have

Lieut.-Col.-Commandant.	*Lieut.-Col.*	*Major.*
1	1	1

1 Serjeant } to every 20 Privates.
1 Corporal }

Regiments of 300 Rank and File, and upwards, may have an Adjutant, but no pay allowed, unless embodied for actual service, except in the cases hereinafter-mentioned.——A Serjeant-Major may be appointed, but no pay allowed, unless embodied for actual service, except in the cases hereinafter-mentioned.——A Quarter-Master per Troop may be appointed, but no pay allowed, unless embodied for actual service.——A Surgeon may be appointed, but no pay allowed unless embodied for actual service.

(To be continued in our next.)

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—Official papers published at the Cape of Good Hope, on the 25th of June last, have been received in London; and, in opposition to the accounts which recently appeared in the Moniteur, they state that Admiral Linois, with one line of battle ship, two frigates, and some transports, together with about 1300 troops under the command of General Decaen, arrived at St. Simon's Bay on the 7th of May. They were received with great respect by the governor of the settlement; and, on the 27th, set sail for Pondicherry, the garrison of which place the military on board the squadron are destined to reinforce.—The Cape is represented to be in a deplorable condition: trade is almost destroyed, provisions are extravagantly high, the inhabitants are dissatisfied, and the mutinous spirit of the Dutch soldiery has just been quieted, for a short time, by the promise of an increase in their pay.—— The disturbances in the Turkish Empire daily increase. In Egypt the rebellious Albanians have been joined by the discontented Beys, and their united forces have defeated the troops of the Porte, in various engagements, and have taken possession of Cairo and other important places in the province. Syria is in a state equally disordered:

Abdul Wachab having taken possession of of Medina, was in full march for Damascus, when he was met by Djezzar, Pacha of Acre, and, after an obstinate engagement, completely defeated.—The Hamburghers, who are languishing under the interruption of their commerce, complain of the slowness with which negotiations are carried on for relieving the petty states in the north of Germany, from the misfortunes which the present war has caused. They still flatter themselves with the hope that Russia is interfering in their behalf, and that Prussia and Denmark are anxious for the restoration of their former privileges.——Large quantities of British goods have been seized at Hamburgh, by the French —The condition of Hanover is particularly unfortunate. The military exactions which the French have required, and the burthens which they have imposed have produced great distress throughout the whole electorate. The embarrassment of the states has, however, recently been relieved by a considerable loan advanced by the Elector of Hesse-Cassel. This, together with a further loan of one million of rix-dollars, which his Highness' agent in that country is now negotiating, will enable them to comply with the requisitions of their conquerors.—Intelligence received by the last German mail states that "it is now asserted with more confidence "than ever, in private advices from Berlin, "of the 24th of September, that the chief "object of Lombard's mission to Paris was "to obtain the consent of Buonaparté that "Frederick William should eventually be "raised to the dignity of Chief of the Em-"pire."—M. Otto, late minister plenipotentiary at the court of St. James's has been dispatched by the First Consul on an embassy to Bavaria.—A decree of the French government issued from St. Cloud on the 17th of September, ordains that flags of truce, which, according to the decree of the 26th of July, were only to be admitted into the bay of Audierne, near Brest, are henceforth only to be received in the port of Morlaix.—The plan of instituting senatorships in the depa tments of the republic, which was sanctioned by the senate, has received the approbation of government, and is about to be carried into execution The senate met on the 23d Fructidor, by virtue of a consular convocation, to receive the presentation of candidates.—In almost every part of Swisserland great misery prevails among the inferior and laborious classes of the community, who are unable to obtain employment. The emigrations to America are increasing; and arrangements are making for introducing a number of Swiss colonists into the Crimea, at the expense, and under the sanction of the Emperor of Russia.—Accounts from the West-Indies state that the situation of the French army in St. Domingo, is more favorable than it has been for some time past. The dissensions among the negroes increase, and General Rochambeau is determined to defend the island to the last extremity.—At Aux Cayes the ammunition has been removed on board of stationary vessels, lest it should fall into the hands of the negroes.—Guadaloupe remains quiet, but some apprehensions are entertained of an attack from the English.—Every exertion is making for defending Martinique: the number of troops amounts to about 1200, and the inhabitants are armed, but the French commander doubts their fidelity.

DOMESTIC.—The trials of the Irish rebels proceed. On the 27th of September, Howley, the person who shot the keeper of the tower, was convicted; and, on the day following, was executed. He was a storekeeper in the depôt, and, previously to his death, confessed himself to be the murderer of Colonel Browne. On the 1st instant, Mackintosh was brought to the bar, and after a long trial was found guilty. It was at his house that the explosion of gunpowder took place on the Saturday preceding the insurrection, and that a quantity of musket-balls, pike handles, and bayonets were discovered. He was particularly active in the riots in Thomas Street, and was one of the assassins who stopped the carriage of Lord Kilwarden.—A few weeks ago, a person who had just arrived from Ireland was taken into custody, on suspicion of having been concerned in the late rebellion, but, for want of sufficient evidence against him, he was liberated. He has, since, been arrested again, all his papers seized, and no person suffered to visit him, and in a few days he will be sent to Dublin.—A Frenchman, employed in Lord Claremont's kitchen, was apprehended on the 30th ultimo, by virtue of a warrant from Sir R. Ford, on suspicion of his being a spy from the French government. On the next day he underwent a long examination at the Secretary of State's office, and was afterwards committed to the house of correction in Cold Bath Fields.—The Gazette of last Saturday contains addresses to his Majesty, from the counties of Westmeath, Donnegal, and Cardigan; the Bishop, Archdeacon, and Chapter of the diocese of Landaff; the Bishop, Dean, Chapter, and Clergy of Chester; and the Presbytery of Edinburgh —The King has been

pleased to grant the dignity of a Countess of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, unto the Right Honorable Henrietta Laura, Baroness of Bath, (wife of Lieutenant-General Sir James Pulteney, Bart.) by the name, style, and title of Countess of Bath, in the county of Somerset, and the dignity of Earl of Bath to the issue male of her body lawfully begotten.—The King has also been pleased to appoint Dr. William Laurence Brown to be Dean of the most noble and most ancient Order of the Thistle, in the room of Dr. Davidson, deceased.—Large quantities of ordnance and stores have, within these few days past, been sent from Woolwich to the coast of Kent.—Fire beacons are establishing at Canterbury, Shorn Cliff, Barham, Isle of Thanet, Shottenden, Hythe, Postingdown, Westwell-hill, Pluckley, Lynham-hill, Coxheath, Boxley-hill, Chatham lines, Wrotham-hill, Tenderden, Highgate near Hawkhurst and Goodhurst, which, beginning at Canterbury or Shorn Cliff, will be successively fired on the near approach or actual landing of an enemy: on this signal every one is to hasten to his place of rendezvous.—Waggons are ordered to be provided and kept in readiness in the principal towns along the coast, for the purpose of removing the infirm, the women, and the children, if the French should affect a landing.—Huts of brick and wood are now erecting on the Downs near Lewes, for the reception of troops during the winter.—The troops in Brighton camp, the Gloucester and Sussex militia, together with some corps of riflemen are to be immediately employed in cutting sluices at Pevensey Level, near Hastings, in order that the whole of that part of the country may be inundated in case of invasion.—The regular and militia troops, which are stationed in different parts of the interior of the country, are to be removed towards the coasts, and their places are to be supplied by the volunteers. The guards are to be marched from the metropolis, and hutted on the coast; and their duty will then be performed by the volunteer corps, the whole of which are to be immediately brigaded. Those in the western part of London will form one brigade, and will serve alternately, on the park and palace duty: those in the city will form another brigade, and will, in like manner, perform the Bank, Tower, and other duties in that quarter.—The armed vessels, fitted out by the Trinity-house corporation, have gone down for the purpose of being moored across the Thames, at the Lower Hope.—A great number of boats is collecting at Gravesend, for forming a bridge, by which troops may be conveyed between the southern and eastern districts, if such a communication should be found necessary.—The eight guardships, which are to be moored across the Humber, have sailed for the Nore, on their way to that river.

MILITARY.—Thirty six thousand French troops still remain in the electorate of Hanover. The fortress of Hameln and fort St George are immediately to undergo great improvements, and considerable additions are to be made to the works. A thousand labourers have been put in requisition for the speedy execution of this measure.—The French armies in Holland have given twenty-five thousand livres towards defraying the expenses of the preparations against England.—Poinçot, gen. of brigade, has been dispatched to Flushing to inspect the French troops in the isle of Walcheren; from thence he is to proceed to Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda.—The head-quarters of one of the grand divisions of the army destined for the invasion of England is to be fixed at Ghent, in the neighbourhood of which place large bodies of troops are assembling. Several detachments are on their way for the departments of Lys and the Scheldt; and it is said, that all the troops which are to be collected in *ci-devant* Flanders will be at their place of destination before the beginning of October. Dumas, counsellor of state and chief of the staff of the army of England, has set out for that quarter, to inspect them.—Another division, subordinate to that of Ghent, is assembling at Brussels under the command of Gen. Soult: it will consist of twenty-four demi-brigades of infantry, twelve regiments of cavalry, two regiments of horse-artillery, and ten companies of foot-artillery. It is confidently asserted, that the First Consul will visit that part of the army in the beginning of the present month, and that they will then receive orders for the commencement of their operations.—The greatest part of the garrisons of Sedan, Givet, Charleville, and other places in the department of the Ardennes, are on their way to join the camp at St. Omers, where another of the grand divisions is forming, and where the general head-quarters will probably be fixed.—From the most remote departments, the troops are marching towards the coast: the garrisons of Strasburgh and its vicinity, and of Dijon, and a considerable body which was at Auxonne, together with those which were stationed in the departments of the Aube, the Saone and Loire, and the Yonne, are all moving in the same direction.—The Minister of War, Gen. Berthier, who has

been appointed chief of the etat-major of the army of England, has left Paris to review the different camps: Dejean, counsellor of state, will perform the duties of his office during his absence.—It is said, that the First Consul is making preparations for leaving the capital, to superintend the organization of the army on the coast. Within these few last weeks, the consular guards in Paris and its environs have been three times reviewed. The last of these reviews took place on an extensive plain, between Neuilly, Avriers, Mousseaux and Colombe, where the First Consul gave the command to upwards of ten thousand men.—Some of the French journals assert positively, that Buonaparté will command the invading army in person; others that it will be embarked under Gen. Berthier, and that the Chief Consul will remain at the head of a numerous army of reserve, which, they say, will be immediately formed at Amiens.—It is said that the French government will embody some battalions of fugitive Irish, who are solicitous of being employed, and will attach them to the grand army.—Gen. Delmotte has taken the command of the marine troops at Brest; and Gen. Augereau has taken his departure for Bayonne, to direct the formation of an army there, for the purpose of overawing Spain.—Letters from Italy of the 8th of September, state, that one of the objects of the French armies in that quarter, is to obtain possession of the Morea. The greatest part of these troops occupies the borders of the Adriatic and of the Gulph of Taranto, and it is said, that some preparations have been made for providing the means of transporting them.—The London Gazette of last Saturday contains the promotion of all lieutenant-generals in the British army, to the end of the year 1798, to be generals; major-generals to the end of 1796, to be lieutenant-generals; colonels to the end of 1796, to be lieutenant-generals; colonels to the end of 1797, to be major-generals; lieutenant-colonels to the end of 1795, to be colonels; majors to the end of 1798, to be lieutenant-colonels; and captains to the end of 1794, to be majors.—The army of reserve is said to be now nearly completed: of several thousands which have been sent to Chatham, all, excepting about one hundred, entered the regular service in the course of eight days: of those which were sent to Plymouth, five hundred have been returned to the countries whence they came, as unfit for the service.

NAVAL.—The Batavian government has made three separate divisions of the ships of war, gun-vessels, and flat-bottomed boats now building on the waters of the republic. The first, comprehending the armaments in the Ems and the Zuyder Zee, is to assemble in the Texel; the second, comprehending those in the Waal, the Leech, and the Meuse, is to assemble at Helvoetsluys; and the third, comprehending those in the Scheldt and in the neighbouring rivers and canals, is to assemble at Flushing. Each division is to be under the direction of a vice-admiral, and the whole are to be commanded by Admiral de Winter.—The building of gun-boats on the Seine goes on with great expedition; several have very recently been launched at Paris, and several more are ready to be thrown off the stocks.—Four flat-bottomed boats and one gun-boat have just been launched at Harfleur.—In the course of the present year, one ship of 120 guns, and one of 74, were launched from the dock-yards at Rochfort: another of 74 guns is finished, and several frigates are in a state of great forwardness.—It is said that there are three hundred gun-boats now ready for sea, between Ostend and Havre; and that the whole number building amounts to three thousand.—The French minister of marine has prohibited the equipment of privateers in the ports of the Channel. Several which were fitting out at Dunkirk have been stopped, and those which were proper for the service of government, have, together with those employed on board of them, been put in requisition.—Since the attack on Boulogne, the offensive preparations at that place have been much expedited; and a number of artillery-men have arrived there from the island of Cadsand.—The Toulon fleet, of nine sail of the line and six frigates, put to sea on the 11th of September, but seeing a British fleet off the coast, they returned to port, after an absence of ten hours.—The French accounts, which have appeared in the Moniteur, of the bombardment of Dieppe, Fecamp and Granville, represent the damage done to those places, by the attacks of the British squadrons, to be very small. They boast of having beaten off the assailants.—On the 28th of September, a small squadron, under the command of Captain Jackson, in the Autumn, made an attack on Calais. Captain Jackson supposes that from the number of shells thrown, and the direction in which they fell, that the town as well as the gun-boats in the harbour, must have suffered considerable damage.—On the day following, twenty-six gun-vessels escaped from Calais, and, notwithstanding that they were constantly chased by a small squadron under Captain Honeyman in the Leda, they effected their passage to Boulogne. During three hours, cap-

tain H. kept up a heavy fire upon them, which was returned from them as well as the batteries on shore. On the 29th, he discovered twenty-five more coming from the eastward, and after a heavy cannonade, they anchored with the others, with the loss of two, which were driven on shore.—On the 9th of July, Captain Donnelly, in the Narcissus, while cruizing off St. Peters, near Sardinia, captured, after a chase of twenty-two hours, the French brig l'Alcion, of 16 guns and 96 men: she was returning from Alexandria, where she had been on a special mission.—On the 29th of September, Lieutenant Leaver, in the gun-brig Jackall, between Nieuport and Dunkirk, captured a French armed schooner of 4 guns.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under this head little variety of subject can, at this time, be expected: invasion fills the heads, the hearts, and the mouths of all classes of the community. The makers of the peace of Amiens do, at last, begin to tremble; not for their King or their country, but *for themselves*. They have seen the King of Sardinia stripped of his dominions; they have seen hundreds upon hundreds of the Vendean Royalists dragged to an ignominious death; they have resigned the honour of the flag; they have seen the hereditary possessions of their gracious master conquered, pillaged, and alienated; all these sacrifices have they, without the least remorse, made to the preservation of their power, to the gratification of their vanity and their avarice; and, when we have ventured to remonstrate, they have received our remonstrances with mockery. But, the danger is now literally coming home to them: it threatens their own property and persons. The seat in Richmond Park may possibly be devastated; and, which is still more terrific, the Clerk may out-live the Pells, a possibility that was humbly suggested to the tender father, at the time when he bestowed them on his son *.——The mischiefs, however, which threatens the Addingtons and Hawkesburies, also threatens every man of us. Let no one say, he has little or nothing to lose, and therefore little or nothing to defend. He has his *King and country* to defend; and, if these are not objects for which he would venture his life, he is a coward too base to fight for property, for parents, for wife, or for children. That the distressed and disgraceful situation, to which we are reduced, is to be ascribed to the ministers is certain, and that they will be called to an awful account for it we have a right to expect, and, legally, to demand; but, if our country fall, if we are subdued, if the monarchy be destroyed, and if we become the slaves of Frenchmen, what consolation will it be to us to reflect, that the cause of our misery and infamy originated with the ministers. True, they have stripped us of a great part of those means of defence, which we possessed previous to the unfortunate day, when the reins of power fell into their feeble and selfish hands: true, they dismantled the fleet and disbanded the army, under the pretext of œconomy, while they heaped the public wealth upon themselves, their relations, and their friends, with a prodigality never known at any former period: true, they turned a deaf ear to the admonitions of all those, who besought them not to weaken our military force, who bade them remember that the French shore glistened with bayonets, and who circumstantially predicted the fearful state of things that has now arisen; though all this be true, it is nevertheless the first duty of every one of us to use the best means in his power to meet and to overcome the great and terrible dangers, which are now approaching us, and which threaten our total annihilation as an independent people. A time will come, a time *must* come, when we shall obtain justice, but this is only on condition that we preserve our country, for otherwise one common ruin buries both ourselves and those whom we wish to punish. To save the country is the first consideration: let us do that, and every other good will follow.—— Endless are the accounts and conjectures as to the plans of Buonaparté. Nothing can be a greater proof of the wisdom of those plans, than the total uncertainty, in which we are respecting them. We have, including Ireland, eight hundred miles of coast exposed to his attack, and, there is not a man in England who can make even a rational *guess* at the spot or spots, where he intends to disembark. Some think, he does not seriously meditate an attack upon England, till he has succeeded, to a certain degree at least, in Ireland: others think, that England is in greater danger than Ireland: others, that he means to fall upon both at once. Some think, that he will come with one great army; others, that he will send four or five small ones. In short, conjecture

* In making the modest calculation of sixty years salary for his son, it never occured to him, that the placeman might out-live the place. This is, however, possible; and, if the affairs of the nation continue to be conducted by such men as himself, it is very *probable* too.——Register, Vol. II. p. 354.

is exhausted: all that we know is, that he may *possibly* invade us, with great or with small armies, and that, if we do not defeat those armies, however great or however numerous they may be, we shall become the most miserable slaves that ever disgraced the human shape.——Fifty thousand of the Volunteers, from the agricultural parts of the country, should be instantly drawn out, and placed under martial law, after an inspection, in order to exclude the fat and feeble men, which, however, would be much better done by the means of a few long and heavy marches, upon the plan suggested in the preceding sheet (p. 479.) That the law fully authorizes the drawing out of the Volunteers there can be no doubt; and, if they are not drawn out soon enough to be prepared to act with effect against the enemy, the fault is entirely that of the Ministers, who neglect the performance of their duty, and thereby expose the country, or, at least, the monarchy, to destruction, lest they should lose their popularity amongst the noisy rabble, and risk the duration of their places and their profits.—But it is not sufficient merely to call the Volunteers out. They should immediately be provided with such a dress and with such necessaries as will enable them to stand a winter campaign. If they will not throw aside their foppish and useless uniforms, they should be compelled to do it, and to assume a dress fit for the hard duties they will have to perform. They should have a round hat turned up on the left side; a black handkerchief round the neck; a grey or green coat or long jacket with flannel lining in the sleeves; pantaloons of the same colour with flannel drawers under them; and half gaiters of the same cloth as the pantaloons. With this dress, and with a knapsack stocked with two coarse linen shirts and one flannel shirt, one pair of thick shoes, one pair of cloth mittens, and a cloth Nova-Scotia cap, to wear while on duty in bleak nights, together with a good large watchcoat; thus equipped, men *may* pass an English winter without fire, and almost without a house. But, if these Volunteers are sent out to live under canvass, or in green huts, or even in barracks, or town quarters, in their present puppet-show dress, one half of them will die in the course of four months. And, can any one suppose, that if great mortality should prevail amongst them, they will not run-away by hundreds and thousands? Punish them! Who is to punish them? Courts-martial composed of themselves? Does any one believe, that Mr. Tape will lay violent hands upon Mr. Buckram? There will, to be sure, be less of this shopkeeping herd amongst the Volunteers drawn out of the agricultural parts of the country, but still, the corps will consist of neighbours, and friends; and, as the mischievous project of *brigading* them, separate from the army is, it appears, to be adopted, there will not be the least chance of infusing into them, a little of that military rigour, without which they cannot be made to bear even a trifling degree of hardship, much less to persevere in their duty, while their companions are hourly dying in the same tent with them. Immediate measures should, therefore, be adopted to *clothe* the Volunteers properly. This should be a main object with the Inspectors; for, without proper clothing, they cannot live upon actual service, and, if they begin to die, in considerable numbers, a dissolution of the corps will instantly take place, in spite of every preventative that the government can adopt.—— An *army*, however, is not all that we have to provide. The arms of France is not all that we have to guard against. We have an enemy within as well as without: I mean the *Bank-Notes*: and the operations of this enemy, which is not an enemy till our fears make him so, will keep an exact pace with those of our enemy without.——The effect which the invasion of 1745 had upon the Bank of England is well known. At that time the notes in circulation were a mere trifle compared to the specie: at that time there was no bank-note under twenty pounds, and twenty pounds then was equal to sixty pounds now, so that, no one but a person of considerable property was then possessed of a bank-note. How *different* are the circumstances of the present times need not be pointed out; nor will any man, who takes time to reflect, hesitate to say, that an invasion must, in a pecuniary way, inevitably produce a dreadful confusion. Already are gold and silver become alarmingly scarce, insomuch that tradesmen would almost as lief not have your custom as to be obliged to change a one-pound note. In several places this scarcity has been announced by meetings of the inhabitants; and, disguise fact how we may, bank-notes are frequently, either from considerations of convenience or of apprehension, at a discount; and, in fact, every one who is able to do it, is hoarding up gold and silver. If, then, this be already the case, what are we to expect in case of a serious invasion? What are we to expect if ninety-nine hundredths of the circulating medium should lose its value in the eyes of the people, and if the artizan and labourer, upon presenting his note, should be sent home by the baker,

without bread for his children? Such a state of things may not arise; I trust it will not; but, as no one will deny that it may, as no one will deny that it is possible, as no one will deny that it is *much more probable*, than the necessity of fortifying London and of inundating Essex would have been regarded a twelvemonth ago, it surely behoves us to be prepared for it, and we surely have a right to ask if a set of measures, commensurate to the danger, have been, or can be, devised by those whose ignorance, whose selfishness, and whose pusillanimity, have exposed us to that danger.——There is no difficulty which a brave people will not surmount; and, though that, the possibility of which is here suggested, is of a most formidable magnitude, it is by no means such as would justify our flinching from the rencontre.——Till money came forth to supply the place of paper, or till the enemy was driven out of the country, the confusion would be dreadful; but, this confusion would not last long, and, all that would be wanted would be an effectual plan for furnishing, during the interim, persons, in all ranks of life, particularly those in London and Westminster, with a regular supply of provisions. In the country, neighbours would be more apt to assist each other, though there also some vigorous regulation should be instantly adopted. But, in the metropolis, not only must all riots be kept down, but things must be so tranquil as to prevent all rumours of riots, or the bakers and butchers will flee, no man will come or send from any part of the country, and starvation, pillage, and horror upon horror will ensue.——Effectually to guard against this contingency, and to give confidence to both rich and poor, to *convince* the former that their persons and property will *always* be protected, and to convince the latter that they will never, let come what will, want the necessaries of life, some plan should be immediately digested, and communicated by the government, to the magistrates, the clergy, and the parochial officers. Indeed, the Parliament should meet, and a law should be passed for this purpose; for, if the event which I dread should overtake us *unprepared*, greatly do I fear that the parliament never would meet again.—— Nay, sneer not, good gentlemen of Downing-street and Whitehall! you have sneered already too often. You have gone on, from stage to stage, sneering at the advice and the predictions of those, who duly forewarned you of all that has come to pass. That monarchies *can* be pulled down, and that nations *can* be subjugated, we want no ghost to tell us; and I, who have foretold so many of the consequences of your negligence, now tell you, that, if the enemy advance any considerable distance towards London, and if you do not provide against the effects of the depreciation of Bank-paper, the monarchy of Britain is gone, and we are the slaves of a nation, whose threats our fathers taught us to despise.——One adviseable measure would be to pass a law, *pledging the taxes* for making good the loss upon Bank-notes, in case of their depreciation, and giving the holders of them *a claim prior* to the holders of any *other public security*. This would not only modify the alarm, but would, perhaps, prevent it altogether, by keeping up the notes to pretty nearly their full value. In London and Westminster there should be a body of well-armed Volunteers (for we have nothing else) in every parish; and, if the crisis should arrive, every church should serve, at once, as a place of worship, as a barrack, and as a provision-store. An estimate of the present distribution of all the provisions in the country should be prepared. Means of collecting them, a method of conveyance and a mode of supply, should be thought of.——If all these things were well detailed, and rendered familiar to the people's ears, the landing of an enemy, in ever so great force, would excite but very little alarm; because every man would know what to do, and because the cares about the fate of property, parents, wife, and children, would no longer weigh down the minds and tie the hands of those, who are wanted to fight against the foe.——In answer to my forebodings, I shall, perhaps, be reminded of the opinion of Mr. Pitt, who is represented as having given for a toast, at the Trinity House dinner, "the "Volunteer Corps, and a *speedy* meeting "with Buonaparté on *our own shores*;" but, when I see this gentleman sit very quietly listening to *his own praises*, from the lips of five hired hackney singers; when I see him, thus, at a moment while all the elements seem gathering together for our destruction, and when I reflect that this is the immediate consequence of that peace which he defended; when under such circumstances, I see him, with the utmost complacency accepting the title of "the "Pilot who *weathered the storm*," I must confess, that my respect for his opinions is considerably diminished.

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